

JANUARY 3, 1977

"FOURTEEN POINTS"
(INSERTS IN TAPE LIBRARY)

(EDITORS: ANNIVERSARY DATE IS JAN. 8)

ANNCR: TODAY (JANUARY 8) MARKS THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AN HISTORIC ADDRESS THAT THE THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WOODROW WILSON, MADE BEFORE THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS IN 1918. IT BECAME KNOWN AS THE "FOURTEEN POINTS" SPEECH. IN THIS PROGRAM WE WILL TAKE A LOOK BACK IN TIME TO THOSE FOURTEEN POINTS -- AND WE WILL MAKE SOME COMPARISONS WITH TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY AND ITS CONCERN FOR WORLD HARMONY. YOUR NARRATOR WILL BE -----.

TAPE: CUT ONE -- MUSIC - DOCUMENTARY INTRO - :10 - NATURAL FADEOUT

NARR: ALMOST ONE YEAR AGO, SHORTLY AFTER HIS INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, JIMMY CARTER MADE THIS STATEMENT.

TAPE: CUT TWO -- CARTER

"BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE. OUR MORAL SENSE DICTATES A CLEARCUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS."

NARR: LATER HE WOULD SAY THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE HAD BECOME ONE THAT N O GOVERNMENT ON EARTH CAN AFFORD TO IGNORE. HUMAN RIGHTS, SAID PRESIDENT CARTER, WAS "AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAD COME."

BACK IN 1918, THOMAS WOODROW WILSON, 28TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ALSO FELT THE TIME HAD COME.

VOICE: "THE WORLD MUST BE MADE SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY!"
ONE:

NARR: THIS WAS THE SON OF AN ORDAINED SOUTHERN BAPTIST MINISTER
SPEAKING; A FORMER COLLEGE PROFESSOR, THE FORMER PRESIDENT
OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, FORMER GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF
NEW JERSEY -- AND NOW PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. HE
WAS AN INTELLECTUAL, AN HONOR STUDENT IN COLLEGE, A MAN
OF PERFECT MANNERS AND MORALS -- AS WOULD BE BEFITTING THE
SON OF AN ORDAINED MINISTER. HE WAS ALSO AN IDEALIST --
PERHAPS TOO MUCH SO -- OR SO SOME PEOPLE SAID.

TAPE: CUT FOUR -- LINK

"THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF TALK ABOUT WILSON'S IDEALISM. WILSON'S
IDEALISM WAS NOTHING MORE NOR LESS THAN CHRISTIAN LOVE IN
PRACTICE."

NARR: PROFESSOR ARTHUR LINK, OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; EDITOR OF
THE WILSON PAPERS, AND THE BIOGRAPHER OF WOODROW WILSON.

TAPE; CUT FIVE -- LINK

"I'LL GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE: IN HIS OWN LIFE, HE OFTEN SAID
-- AND I'M SURE HE WAS QUITE SINCERE -- THAT WE FIND
OURSELVES ONLY IN THE SERVICE OF OTHERS BY GIVING OURSELVES
TO OTHERS. 'NOW, WHAT DOES THE UNITED STATES EXIST FOR?'
HE WOULD SAY. 'FOR ITS OWN AGGRANDIZEMENT, FOR ITS OWN
ENRICHMENT? NOT AT ALL. GOD CREATED THE UNITED STATES TO
SERVE HUMANITY AND MANKIND.' NOW, THIS ISN'T IDEALISM IN
THE GREEK ABSTRACT SENSE. I WOULD SAY EVERY IMPORTANT
THOUGHT AND IMPULSE THAT CAME OUT OF THAT MAN CAME OUT OF
THIS DEEP CHRISTIAN FAITH."

NARR: THOSE THOUGHTS ALSO CAME OUT OF WOODROW WILSON'S OWN PRIVATE
BELIEF IN HIS COUNTRY -- AND THE PEOPLE WHO HAD MADE THE
COUNTRY. AGAIN, ARTHUR LINK:

TAPE: CUT SIX -- LINK

"WELL, HE OFTEN SAID THAT HE SOMEHOW THOUGHT THAT HE HAD THE CAPACITY TO DIVINE -- TO KNOW -- TO FEEL -- THE SPIRIT AND PURPOSE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE SEEMED TO HAVE AN UNCANNY WAY OF KNOWING WHAT THE AVERAGE MAN WAS THINKING. HE SAID, 'I THINK I KNOW THE HEART AND MIND OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE' AND I THINK HE PROBABLY DID."

TAPE: CUT SEVEN -- DOCUMENTARY TRANSITION - BRIEF - UNDER & OUT AS DESIRED

NARR: NOW IT WAS JANUARY OF 1918. WORLD WAR ONE STILL HAD TEN MONTHS AND THREE DAYS TO GO BEFORE IT WOULD END. WOODROW WILSON FELT THERE WAS A STRONG NEED TO PRESENT A PROGRAM FOR PEACE. AND ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF THAT MONTH OF JANUARY, HE PROCEEDED TO OUTLINE HIS FOURTEEN POINTS BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. IN HIS FINAL PARAGRAPH, IMMEDIATELY BEFORE STATING HIS FOURTEEN POINTS, HE SAID THIS:

VOICE: "WHAT WE DEMAND....IS NOTHING PECULIAR TO OURSELVES. IT
ONE: IS THAT THE WORLD BE MADE FIT AND SAFE TO LIVE IN; AND PARTICULARLY THAT IT BE MADE SAFE FOR EVERY PEACE-LOVING NATION WHICH, LIKE OUR OWN, WISHES TO LIVE ITS OWN LIFE, DETERMINE ITS OWN INSTITUTIONS, BE ASSURED OF JUSTICE AND FAIR DEALING BY THE OTHER PEOPLES OF THE WORLD AS AGAINST FORCE AND SELFISH AGGRESSION. ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE, IN EFFECT, PARTNERS IN THIS INTEREST, AND FOR OUR OWN PART WE SEE VERY CLEARLY THAT UNLESS JUSTICE BE DONE TO OTHERS, IT WILL NOT BE DONE TO US. THE PROGRAM OF THE WORLD'S PEACE, THEREFORE, IS OUR PROGRAM; AND THAT PROGRAM, AS WE SEE IT, IS THIS:"

NARR: THEN CAME THE FOURTEEN POINTS IN WHICH WOODROW WILSON LAID OUT HIS PROGRAM FOR AN END TO THE WAR -- THE BASIS FOR THE ARMISTICE. BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE PROGRAM CALLED FOR THE FORMATION OF A WORLD BODY TO INSURE LASTING PEACE -- A LEAGUE OF NATIONS. THAT WAS THE FOURTEENTH AND LAST POINT HE MADE. HE SAID IT IN THESE WORDS:

VOICE:
ONE: "A GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS MUST BE FORMED UNDER SPECIFIC COVENANTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF AFFORDING MUTUAL GUARANTEES OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY TO GREAT AND SMALL STATES ALIKE."

NARR: OF COURSE, THERE WERE THIRTEEN OTHER POINTS. THEY DEALT WITH "FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION UPON THE SEAS", "DIPLOMACY IN THE PUBLIC VIEW," ESTABLISHMENT OF AND EQUALITY OF TRADE CONDITIONS AMONG ALL THE NATIONS CONSENTING TO THE PEACE" (THE END OF WORLD WAR ONE). OTHER POINTS RELATED TO WHAT WAS THEN RUSSIA, AND TO FRANCE, ITALY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, THE BALKANS, POLAND AND TURKEY. /BUT IT WAS POINT NUMBER FIVE WHICH BEARS REPEATING:

NARR: "A FREE, OPEN-MINDED, AND ABSOLUTELY IMPARTIAL ADJUSTMENT OF ALL COLONIAL CLAIMS, BASED UPON A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT IN DETERMINING ALL SUCH QUESTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY, THE INTERESTS OF THE POPULATIONS CONCERNED MUST HAVE EQUAL WEIGHT WITH THE EQUITABLE CLAIMS OF THE GOVERNMENT WHOSE TITLE IS TO BE DETERMINED."

NARR: THAT WAS WOODROW WILSON'S LANGUAGE, HIS WAY OF SPEAKING -- AND IT TAKES A FEW READINGS OF IT TO BRING IT DOWN TO EARTH, SO TO SPEAK. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTS OF POINT NUMBER FIVE IS THAT PHRASE --- "...THE INTERESTS OF THE POPULATIONS CONCERNED MUST HAVE EQUAL WEIGHT WITH THE EQUITABLE CLAIMS OF THE GOVERNMENT...." TODAY, THAT ENTIRE PHRASE IS EXPRESSED IN TWO WORDS: "HUMAN RIGHTS."

AND HAVING SAID THAT, LET US RETURN TO TODAY -- TO SIXTY YEARS AFTER WOODROW WILSON SAID THOSE WORDS. A FEW MOMENTS LATER HE WOULD COME TO POINT FOURTEEN -- IN HIS WORDS -- "... A GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS..." THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. TODAY, OF COURSE, THERE IS NO LONGER A LEAGUE OF NATIONS. THERE IS A UNITED NATIONS. AND ANOTHER AMERICAN PRESIDENT -- JIMMY CARTER -- SIXTY YEARS LATER, WAS TO PARAPHRASE WOODROW WILSON.

TAPE: CUT EIGHT -- CARTER

"ALL THE SIGNATORIES OF THE U.N. CHARTER HAVE PLEDGED THEMSELVES TO OBSERVE AND TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS. THUS, NO MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS CAN CLAIM THAT MISTREATMENT OF ITS CITIZENS IS SOLELY ITS OWN BUSINESS.....THE BASIC THRUST OF HUMAN AFFAIRS POINTS TOWARD A MORE UNIVERSAL DEMAND FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. THE UNITED STATES HAS A HISTORICAL BIRTHRIGHT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH THIS PROCESS. WE IN THE UNITED STATES ACCEPT THIS RESPONSIBILITY IN THE FULLEST AND THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE SENSE. OURS IS A COMMITMENT AND NOT JUST A POLITICAL POSTURE."

NARR: MISTER CARTER'S DECLARATION MIGHT HAVE BEEN A CONTINUATION OF WOODROW WILSON'S ADDRESS OF SIXTY YEARS AGO.

TAPE: CUT NINE -- MUSIC: NOBLE, DOCUMENTARY BRIDGE - ESTABLISH UP FULL AND FADE OUT SLOWLY UNDER:

NARR: WHAT IS NOW CALLED "HUMAN RIGHTS" WAS CERTAINLY ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THOSE FOURTEEN POINTS OF WOODROW WILSON, AGAIN HISTORIAN ARTHUR LINK.

TAPE: CUT TEN -- LINK

"WELL, CERTAINLY THE BASIC POINT WAS THE CREATION OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS. NOW, HE REITERATED THIS THROUGHOUT. SECONDLY, THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION; THAT IS, THE PEOPLE WITH A SEPARATE HISTORY, LANGUAGE, CULTURE. THIRDLY, THE PRINCIPLE -- AND HE SAID THIS WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL -- THAT THE PEACE THAT WAS TO BE MADE MUST BE MADE IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE CONCERNED, AND NOT FOR ANY SELFISH OR IMPERIALISTIC PURPOSES."

NARR: AND THEN WOODROW WILSON WENT TO EUROPE, TO THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, BELIEVING IN HIS FOURTEEN POINTS -- BUT NOT AT ALL OPTIMISTIC ABOUT WHAT KIND OF A RECEPTION HE WOULD GET. AND ON HIS WAY, HE MADE THIS UNCHARACTERISTIC REMARK.

VOICE: "WHAT I SEEM TO SEE -- I HOPE I AM WRONG -- IS A TRAGEDY OF ONE: DISAPPOINTMENT."

NARR: BUT THE WORLD'S HEARTBEAT WAS WITH HIM.

TAPE: CUT ELEVEN -- MARTIAL - SPIRITED - MIX WITH LARGE CHEERING CROWD SOUNDS: EST. & HOLD UNDER

NARR: IN FRANCE, THEY LIGHTED CANDLES IN HIS HONOR. HE WAS CHEERED AS NO CONQUEROR EVER WAS. IN ROME, HIS PICTURE WAS IN MANY HOMES, AND HIS GLORY THERE SEEMED TO EXCEED THAT OF CAESAR'S. IN ENGLAND, HIS PATH FROM THE CHANNEL COAST TO CHARING CROSS STATION WAS STREWN WITH FLOWERS. THIS, INDEED, WAS A MAN OF PEACE!

NARR: (FADE OUT TAPE)
(CONT'D)

THAT WAS HIS FIRST TRIP TO EUROPE. BUT LESS THAN A YEAR LATER THE MAN OF PEACE WAS A MERE MAN OF POLITICS. HE HAD BY THEN MADE TWO TRIPS TO EUROPE AND SPENT ALMOST SIX MONTHS WITH BRITAIN'S LLOYD GEORGE, ITALY'S VITTORIO ORLANDO AND FRANCE'S GEORGES CLEMENCEAU. BUT WOODROW WILSON DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE AIMS AND THE BARGAINING METHODS OF HIS COLLEAGUES IN PARIS. LLOYD GEORGE, WHO CONSIDERED WILSON RATHER NAIVE, SAID, "IF YOU WANT TO SUCCEED IN POLITICS, YOU MUST KEEP YOUR CONSCIENCE UNDER CONTROL." AND CLEMENCEAU, THE MAN THEY CALLED "THE TIGER OF FRANCE", SAID: "MISTER WILSON BORES ME WITH HIS 'FOURTEEN POINTS. WHY, GOD ALMIGHTY HAS ONLY TEN!"

THE ALLIES SEEMED TO REGARD THE FOURTEEN POINTS ONLY AS A TRICK OF THE WAR THAT HAD MADE GERMANY SURRENDER; BUT THE FOURTEEN POINTS, THEY FELT, WERE NO LONGER APPLICABLE NOW THAT WORLD WAR ONE WAS OVER. WOODROW WILSON THEN PERMITTED A NUMBER OF HIS POINTS TO BE MODIFIED, BUT HE DID INSIST THAT ANY TREATY PROVIDE FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS -- A LEAGUE WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD COMPENSATE FOR THE COMPROMISES HE WAS MAKING ALONG THE WAY. HE WAS KEEPING HIS DREAM ALIVE THIS WAY.

BUT WHEN HE RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES HE FOUND THAT THE PRODUCT HE BROUGHT HOME FOR APPROVAL (THE TREATY OF

VERSAILLES) WAS NOT POPULAR AT ALL. /NEVERTHELESS, HE WOULD
OFFER IT TO THE U.S. SENATE.

OP
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VOICE:
ONE:

OPT

"GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY WAS SIGNED AT VERSAILLES ON THE TWENTY-EIGHTH OF JUNE. I AVAIL MYSELF OF THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY TO LAY THE TREATY BEFORE YOU FOR RATIFICATION. MY BROTHERS, THE STAGE IS SET, THE DESTINY DISCLOSED. WE CAN ONLY GO FORWARD WITH LIFTED EYES AND FRESHENED SPIRIT, TO FOLLOW THE VISION. THE LIGHT STREAMS UPON THE PATH AHEAD AND NOWHERE ELSE. AMERICA SHALL, IN TRUTH, SHOW THE WAY!" /

NARR: MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN THE SENATE SUPPORTED THE TREATY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND THEY WOULD FOLLOW WILSON'S LEADERSHIP. BUT THE REPUBLICANS WERE SPLIT INTO TWO FACTIONS. SOME WANTED TO RATIFY THE TREATY AND THINK ABOUT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS LATER; OTHERS REJECTED THE LEAGUE ENTIRELY. REPUBLICAN SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS SAID THAT HE WAS FOR RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY, BUT WITH -- IRONICALLY -- FOURTEEN RESERVATIONS. IN THE END, THE UNITED STATES NEVER DID RATIFY THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES, AND NEVER DID BECOME A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS HAD BEEN SO MODIFIED DURING THE LONG TALKS IN PARIS THAT BY THE TIME THE PEACE CONFERENCE ENDED THEY WERE OF LITTLE ISSUE. IN FACT, THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE IDEA OR CONCEPT OR SUGGESTION IN THE FOURTEEN POINTS THAT HAD BEEN ORIGINATED BY WOODROW WILSON. THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION IN THE WORLD BY 1913 ABOUT THINGS SUCH AS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS, OPEN DIPLOMACY, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND ALL OF THE THINGS THAT WILSON DISCUSSED IN THE FOURTEEN POINTS. SO WHAT HE DID, ACTUALLY, WAS TO BRING TOGETHER

NARR: MANY STRANDS OF DISCUSSION THAT WERE THEN CIRCULATING ALL
(CONT'D) OVER THE WESTERN WORLD. WHAT, THEN, WAS HIS REASON FOR
BRINGING OUT THE FOURTEEN POINTS WHEN HE DID? AGAIN WOODROW
WILSON BIOGRAPHER ARTHUR LINK.

TAPE: CUT TWELVE -- LINK

"AT THIS VERY MOMENT, THE GERMANS AND THE BOLSHEVIKS WERE
NEGOTIATING A TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND GERMANY.
AND THE PARTICULAR REASON FOR THE FOURTEEN POINTS -- ONE
OFTEN OVERLOOKED BECAUSE PEOPLE READ THE FOURTEEN POINTS
BUT THEY DON'T READ THE FIRST PART OF THE MESSAGE. THE
PARTICULAR REASON WAS AN ATTEMPT BY WILSON TO TRANSFORM THE
GERMAN-RUSSIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS INTO A GENERAL PEACE
CONFERENCE. AND HE SAID, AT SUCH A CONFERENCE THIS (THE
FOURTEEN POINTS) IS WHERE WE WOULD STAND, YOU SEE."

NARR: WE COME AGAIN TO THAT PHRASE "HUMAN RIGHTS" -- AND TO
WOODROW WILSON'S FINAL WORDS IN HIS ADDRESS AFTER HE HAD
ENUNCIATED HIS FOURTEEN POINTS BEFORE THE U.S. CONGRESS
ON JANUARY 8, 1918. THAT LAST PARAGRAPH CONTAINED THESE
WORDS:

VOICE: "AN EVIDENT PRINCIPLE RUNS THROUGH THE WHOLE PROGRAM I
ONE: HAVE OUTLINED. IT IS THE PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE TO ALL
PEOPLES AND

TAPE: CUT THIRTEEN -- RESTATE DOCUMENTARY THEME - SNEAK IN AND
HOLD UNDER

VOICE: NATIONALITIES, AND THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE ON EQUAL TERMS OF
ONE: LIBERTY AND SAFETY WITH ONE ANOTHER, WHETHER THEY BE STRONG
OR WEAK. UNLESS THIS PRINCIPLE CAN BE MADE ITS FOUNDATION,
NO PART OF THE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE CAN STAND."

TAPE: THEME UP FULL - USE AS DESIRED (UNDER)

ANNCR: THIS HAS BEEN A SPECIAL PRESENTATION OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA
ON THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF FORMER UNITED STATES PRESIDENT
WOODROW WILSON'S "FOURTEEN POINTS" ADDRESS. YOUR NARRATOR
HAS BEEN -----, AND I AM -----.

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